







SPECIAL SENATE INVESTIGATION ON CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES INVOLVING: SECRETARY OF THE ARMY ROBERT T. STEVENS, JOHN G. ADAMS, H. STRUVE HENSEL AND SENATOR JOE McCARTHY, ROY M. COHN, AND FRANCIS P. CARR

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 189

PART 16

MAY 3, 1954

Printed for the use of the Committee on Government Operations



UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON: 1954

46620°

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 \mathbf{II}

CONTENTS

Page

Index	-	J
Testimony of—		
Adams, John G., counselor to Department of the Army		-621
St. Clair, James D., special counsel for Department of the Arm	1y	618
Stevens, Hon. Robert T., Secretary, Department of the Army_		€11
EXHIBITS	T .	
	Intro- duced	Appears
8. First draft, dated October 19, 1953, proposed statement to be	on page	
delivered at Fort Monmouth	619	*
9. Corrected draft, undated, proposed statement to be delivered at		
Fort Monmouth	$\epsilon 21$	*
10. Draft, undated, proposed statement to be delivered at Fort		
Monmouth	624	*
11. Mimeographed draft, undated, proposed statement to be de-		
livered at Fort Monmouth	624	*
*May be found in the files of the subcommittee.		
	I II	



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MONDAY, MAY 3, 1954

United States Senate,
Special Subcommittee on Investigations of
the Committee on Government Operations,
Washington, D. C.

AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:35 p. m., pursuant to recess.) Present: Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota, chairman; Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican, Illinois; Senator Charles E. Potter, Republican, Michigan; Senator Henry C. Dworshak, Republican, Idaho; Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas; Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat, Washington; and Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat, Missouri.

Also present: Ray H. Jenkins, chief counsel to the subcommittee; Thomas R. Prewitt, assistant counsel; and Ruth Y. Watt, chief clerk.

Principal participants: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a United States Senator from the State of Wisconsin; Roy M. Cohn, chief counsel to the subcommittee; Francis P. Carr, executive director of the subcommittee; Hon. Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army; John G. Adams, counselor to the Army; H. Struve Hensel, Assistant Secretary of Defense; Joseph N. Welch, special counsel for the Army; James D. St. Clair, special counsel for the Army; and Frederick P. Bryan, counsel to H. Struve Hensel, Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Senator Mundr. The committee will please come to order.

The Chair would again like to welcome our guests in the committee chamber and to advise them of the committee rule that there are to be no manifestations of approval or disapproval of any type or any kind during the course of the hearing. Please observe the committee ruling.

TESTIMONY OF HON. ROBERT T. STEVENS, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY—Resumed

Senator Mundt. Senator Dirksen?

Senator Dirksen. Mr. Chairman, this morning I made what might be regarded as an informal suggestion about an executive meeting of the committee tonight. I think I would like to formalize that and

move that there be such a meeting with counsel present, for the purpose

of exploring expeditious conclusion of these hearings.

Senator Mund. May the Chair say that during the course of the lunch hour I have conferred with colleagues on both sides of the aisle, and in conformity with our practice of having an executive session whenever any member of the committee desires it, the Chair will now call an executive meeting of this committee to take place at 5 o'clock in room 357, at which he will invite, of course, the members of the subcommittee, Mr. Welch, Mr. Bryan, and Senator McCarthy. That will be, as we conceive it, the committee members and our counsel, and counsel prepared to talk for the various sides of this dispute. The purpose of the meeting is to see whether, with all the disputants in the room at the same time, represented by counsel, we can contrive any tactics for expediting or shortening the hearings.

May the Chair inquire—he is asking this question at the suggestion of Senator McClellan—may the Chair inquire of Senator McCarthy

whether that is satisfactory?

Senator McCarthy. If the Chair would prefer that. Otherwise, I

would like to have Mr. Cohn there.

Senator MUNDT. The Chair would prefer it, but we want to enter the committee room certainly with an area of understanding, and if you feel that you would rather have Mr. Cohn there, you may bring him.

Senator McCarthy. I would, frankly, like to because the accusations made against him are of such nature that I think he should be

there.

Senator Munder. Very well, without objection the invitation will be extended to include Mr. Cohn.

Senator Jackson. I assume that all principals would be there. Mr. Hensel has not been admitted. There have been charges against him.

Senator Mundt. His counsel has been invited. Mr. Bryan is

present.

Mr. Bryan. I will be present in Mr. Hensel's behalf, Mr. Chairman. Senator McClellan. I don't want to be technical about this thing, but if we are going to have counsel there, I think counsel are entitled to have their clients there.

I think you had better just broaden this to include all principals and their counsel, so no one can feel that he has been left out of the conference.

Senator Mund. The Chair will be happy to expand it as widely as you desire that he expand it. I think we should stipulate by name,

however, who is going to be there.

May the Chair suggest, then, if it is the pleasure of the subcommittee, that we invite, in addition to those already named, Mr. Hensel, Mr. Carr, Mr. Cohn, and Mr. Adams and Mr. Stevens. Is that expanded far enough, or have we omitted somebody? Mr. Welch?

Mr. Welch. I represent a moderately large client. I am content to be there with full power to represent the Army, and need not bring the gentlemen mentioned, although I do not wish to be discourteous to them and, above all things, discourteous to the committee. I would love it if my assistant, Mr. St. Clair, could be there.

Senator Mundr. He certainly may, under this new rule of expan-

sion.

The Chair was hopeful that we could have a small enough meeting so we might have some remote possibility of achieving something. I am a little bit afraid that the meeting is going to get too large to do very much, but if you want to bring Mr. St. Clair, he is certainly welcome.

Are there any others that you feel should be included?

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Chairman, I think the idea of the invitations is an excellent idea. I think the record should be corrected, however. Mr. Welch said he would be there representing the Army. Mr. Welch will not be there representing the Army. I am sure we will all agree.

Mr. Welch. Let us just say Mr. Welch will be there, then.

Senator Mundar. Very good, sir.

Senator McCarthy. Let us make it clear you are not representing the Army.

Mr. Welch. I do not say that, Senator. In any event I shall be

there.

Senator Munder. That is one of the disputes this committee has not been called upon to adjudicate, so I hope you will thresh that out some place else. At least Mr. Welch will be there; and Secretary Stevens, you understand that you have been invited to come if you care to come. Mr. St. Clair has been invited to come if he cares to come and so has Mr. Adams. We are all clear on that. Room 357 at 5 o'clock.

Mr. Welch. I want to say a word about response to a subpena or a request. Mr. Cohn this morning indicated that he would like in the room a memorandum of a proposed press release related to the Fort Monmouth visit.

It seemed to me you indicated you were working from a draft differing from the one that I find. If you have a draft I would like it to be produced now. I have our draft. They can go in together. Have you a draft, sir, may I ask?

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Chairman? Senator Mundr. Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Cohn. I would much rather have Mr. Jenkins and his staff go into this matter, as they have everything else, and develop the facts as they have been doing up to this point, and then when Mr. Jenkins is satisfied that we all have produced what we should produce, have it for the inspection of the committee rather than go into it now, if that would be agreeable.

Mr. Welch. Mr. Chairman, you see, I understand that the press statement went through 2 or 3 different drafts, and I want to get corresponding drafts. If you have your earliest draft, I have our earliest draft, and I would like them to go in together so that we will

know just what we are dealing with.

Senator Munder. Counsel advises that the procedure indicated by Mr. Cohn has been the procedure followed up to date, and that at the proper time all of the various drafts of all the various press conferences will be introduced.

Mr. Welch. Then, Mr. Chairman——

Senator Mundt. Mr. Welch.

Mr. Welch. Could we adopt the usual courtroom device of marking the Cohn one for identification? I would like it marked for identification only, and then we will put ours in.

Mr. Jenkins. It is quite all right, Mr. Welch.

Mr. Welch. Will you produce it then, Mr. Cohn, so it can be marked for identification?

Senator McCarthy. I don't understand. You are asking us to

produce your first draft.

Mr. Welch. We are going to produce, Mr. Senator, and put in evidence, our first draft. I want marked for identification only your draft.

Senator McCarthy. We didn't have a draft. You presented a draft. I turned down the first draft. I turned down the second draft. The third draft was more acceptable——

Mr. Welch. Then could we have marked for identification the

successive drafts that were turned down?

Senator McCarthy. If you will bring them in.

Mr. Welch. I just want what you have in your files marked for identification, Senator, so there will never be any doubt about what you have.

Senator McCarthy. I don't have your drafts. I know you are

curious to know whether we have them or not.

Mr. Welch. I have no curiosity.

Senator McCarthy. I will tell you we don't have them. That will make you feel easier, I know.

Mr. Welch. I don't feel easy until I know what I am dealing with

in the way of written documents.

You now say that you have no drafts, although when I spoke of drafts a moment ago I observed Mr. Cohn nodding in what I took to be

agreement.

Senator McCarthy. Just a minute. Your Mr. Adams presented—you and I are both testifying—your Mr. Adams presented to us various drafts of a statement that he wanted me to make. I refused. I don't think we have a copy of the statements.

Mr. Welch. All right.

Senator McCarthy. I hope you have. I can tell you what is in the statements when I am testifying.

Senator Mundt. A point of order now.

Mr. Welch. We have that draft, both on a belt, so we can hear Mr. Adams' voice as he dictated it and on a transcription. I suggest that we now have it on the belt version, which is identical, of course, with the transcription, so that it may now by the use of a machine, be read into the record.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Chairman? Senator Mundt. Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy. I am examining Mr. Stevens now. I do want to get to the press releases. There are some three of them. I do want to get to them. If Mr. Welch is going to testify, I want him under oath and if Mr. Adams is going to testify I want him under oath, but I first want to ask Mr. Stevens many questions.

Senator Mundr. Senator McCarthy has 30 seconds of his 10 minutes this morning. You may proceed with the questioning for the next 30

seconds.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Stevens, this morning you were talking about the cooperation you wanted to give the committee, the fact that after we would suspend the hearings you would give us reports. I would like to read you a letter, one written from me to you, and if you

will tell me if you did answer and if you did not, why not. March 15, 1954:

Dear Mr. Stevens: As you will recall when you, Senator Dirksen, Senator Mundt, Senator Potter, and I met several weeks ago, you agreed to instruct the Inspector General to complete the investigation on the case of Major Peress, a Fifth-Amendment Communist. As you will recall, you agreed to give us the names of all individuals that took part in this promotion, the change of duty orders from an overseas post, to a post in the United States, and his honorable discharge, all of which took place subsequent to the time his file indicated that he was not only a Fifth-Amendment Communist, but that he was a graduate of a Communist-leadership school. I would like to make it clear that this matter must not be obscured by the furore and shouting over the case of Private Schine. I shall still want all the facts which we discussed with you about this Fifth-Amendment Major. Therefore, will you please inform me as to the date when the above information will be available.

Sincerely yours,

JOE MCCARTHY.

After you got this letter, did you contact the Inspector General to

find out when this information would be available?

Secretary Stevens. I testified on that this morning, Senator McCarthy. I testified on that I had set the Inspector General to work when I first asked him to. I wanted——

Senator McCarthy. Did you understand the question?

Secretary Stevens. I didn't call about the receipt of your letter, no, sir.

Senator McCarthy. In other words, after I wrote——

Senator Mundt. The Senator's time is up. You had only 30 seconds.

Mr. Counsel?

Mr. Jenkins. No further questions.

Senator Mund. The Chair has none. Are there any from the Senators on the right?

Any from the Senators to the left?

Senator Jackson.

Senator Jackson. Only this, I understood there was a request for some documents, drafts of a press release from the Army, this morning. I am wondering if they are now available and, if so, will they be presented at this time in evidence before the committee.

Mr. Welch. May Lanswer?

Senator Jackson. Yes.

Mr. Welch. They were described by the Senators as of crucial importance to the case. We, therefore, upset the Pentagon during the noon hour to find them. We did find them and they are here.

Senator Jackson. I ask that they be read into evidence at this time,

if counsel has had an opportunity to see them.

Mr. Coun. Nor have we, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. At the proper time, sir, we will produce those documents. I understood this morning that Senator McCarthy requested that those documents be produced. Frankly, I see no reason why they should not be produced at this time. It is perfectly in order and in view of Mr. Welch's statement, I suggest that the Secretary now produce those documents, press releases.

Mr. Welch. I will hand them——

Senator McCarthy. May we have the Secretary produce them? I would rather not have Mr. Welch testify. I would rather the Secretary testify. Mr. Secretary, have you the documents requested?

Senator Jackson. I think it is my time, isn't it?

Senator Mundt. Senator Jackson.

Senator McCarthy. You are right, it is.

Senator Jackson. I have been quite generous this morning in yielding time. I wanted to get this one point cleared up that was not brought up by myself but to keep the testimony in an orderly way se that we can understand what is being requested.

Mr. Jenkins. Senator Jackson, will you yield, so I may ask one

question?

Senator Jackson. Yes.

Senator McClellan. I suggest that counsel produce this testimony on his time.

Mr. Jenkins. That is all right.

Senator Mundt. Is that agreeable, Senator Jackson?

Senator Jackson. That is fine.

Senator Mundr. May the Chair first inquire whether this is a full answer to the subpena which the Chair signed and sent off with somebody this morning, which called for all of the press releases, and the transcripts and the notebooks of Mr. Adams dealing with this press conference?

Mr. Welch. I thought I made it clear. The belt on which the dictation was recorded is in the courtroom and, by use of a machine which

we have here can be played into this record, if you wish.

Mr. Jenkins. And I believe you said, Mr. Welch, in the voice of

Mr. Adams?

Mr. Welch. In the voice of Mr. Adams. May I say, Mr. Jenkins, I have not checked the belt against this, but I have been informed that it has been checked and is absolutely accurate.

Mr. Jenkins. I merely want to identify this document. Senator McCarthy. Mr. Counsel—may I address this to counsel rather than to the Chair—Mr. Counsel, as you know, what I want is the original draft, and the final drafts.

Mr. Jenkins. I will read that into the record now, Senator, if you

will allow me to do so.

Senator McCartny. I want to know if you have both drafts or the belts.

Senator Munder. The counsel will explore those facts, and after which there will be 10 minutes allocated to the Senator from Wisconsm, at which time he may explore if his questions are not answered.

Senator Jackson. Mr. Chairman, the reason I asked that it be brought in at this time is that it be in compliance with the request made by Senator McCarthy this morning, and I think it should be purely limited to the request. I would not want to see extraneous matters brought out. It was only to keep this record in an orderly way that I asked that this matter be followed up immediately at this time.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Secretary, you were being questioned this morning with respect to a proposed press release. Do you recall that?

Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. And, at that time, Senator McCarthy was discussing with you or rather interrogating you with respect to a proposed press release dated October 19 and to be released to the press on October 20, is that correct?

Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. You have handed me now, pursuant to his request for a production of that document, what is entitled "Proposed Statement to be Delivered at Fort Monmouth, Drafted 10-19-53, Original and One." I will ask you, Mr. Secretary, whether or not you have examined this document and whether or not it is a proposed press release of October 19 and to be released by the Senator as of October 20? Is that correct or not?

Secretary Stevens. Mr. St. Clair examined it. I haven't duly

examined it, Mr. Jenkins.

Mr. Jenkins. You say Mr. St. Clair did examine it?

Mr. St. Clair. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Jenkins. I didn't get the answer.

Senator Mundt. Mr. Secretary, we didn't get your answer.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Stevens, Mr. St. Clair like myself is not testify-

ing in the case, certainly not at this time.

I want to return this draft to you and ask you to examine it, because apparently this committee, this investigating committee, may consider it of importance.

Senator McCarthy. Could I see it a moment also?

Mr. Jenkins. Senator, I would like to have it identified first.

Examine it and state whether or not it is the document I just now asked you about.

Senator Jackson. Could it be marked for identification to keep the

record clear?

Mr. Jenkins. After it has been identified, Senator, yes. He may identify it and he may not.

(Document handed back to Secretary Stevens.)

Secretary Stevens. Mr. Jenkins, counsel informs me that he has compared this transcript with the belt, and it is the same. I haven't done that myself.

Mr. Jenkins. That it is identical and the same?

Secretary Stevens. Yes.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Secretary, I will ask you whether or not you have any other memoranda or documents containing any other proposed press release, except the one you hold in your hand?

Secretary Stevens. Is there one more draft?

Mr. Jenkins. We want all the drafts of all documents containing a proposed press release at this time.

Secretary Stevens. Right.

Mr. Jenkins. While you are getting the additional document and for the purpose of positively identifying the document you have been holding in your hand, may I ask Mr. St. Clair a question? He may be sworn.

Senator Mundt. Mr. St. Clair, do you object to standing and being

eworn?

Mr. St. Clair. No, I do not.

Mr. Jenkins. As far as I am concerned, Mr. St. Clair, let me make it perfectly clear that it is not at all necessary, but for the——

Mr. St. Clair. Thank you, Mr. Jenkins.

Mr. Jenkins. But for the purposes of this record, it may be that some party in interest might desire it to be done.

Mr. Welch. Mr. Chairman, the real trouble with this-

Senator Mundr. A point of order, Mr. Welch?

Mr. Welch. Yes. The real difficulty is that these documents come from Mr. Adams' file, and he could put us all straight in a hurry if you put the documents in front of him.

Mr. Jenkins. Let me ask Mr. St. Clair one question.

Senator Mundt. Just a minute.

Has counsel withdrawn his suggestion that he be sworn, or where do we stand on that?

Mr. Jenkins. For purposes of positive identification and in order that there be no question about it, let the witness be sworn. I am sure you don't mind, Jim.

Mr. St. Clair. Not at all.

Senator Mund. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. St. Clair. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES D. ST. CLAIR, SPECIAL COUNSEL FOR THE ARMY

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. St. Clair, have or not you compared the document now before you, dated October 19, 1953, with a recording which was furnished you at the Pentagon and which was in the voice of Mr. John G. Adams?

Mr. St. Clair. I have, Mr. Jenkins.

Mr. Jenkins. I will ask you whether or not the document now before you and about which I have been questioning Mr. Stevens is a precise and accurate, verbatim reproduction of the dictation of Mr. Adams containing the proposed press release?

Adams containing the proposed press release?

Mr. St. Clair. It is, Mr. Jenkins. I made one change. I changed the word "of" to the word "on" on the second page, made in ink.

That is my change.

Other than that, it is a verbatim copy of the belt that I heard.

Mr. Jenkins. You transposed the word "of" over the word "on"? Did I understand you correctly?

Mr. St. Clair. The word "of" is in typewriting, but on the belt it

reads "on," as I heard it, and I made that change in ink.

Mr. Jenkins. So it is a verbatim account of that dictation by Mr. Adams?

Mr. St. Clair. As I have changed it, yes, Mr. Jenkins.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Adams' voice was reproduced, was it, Mr. St.

Clair, and did you recognize it?

Mr. St. Clair. I recognized it, I am reasonably sure. It was on a Dictaphone machine, and this is a belt that perhaps you are familiar

with that is in general use in many offices.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman and Mr. Welch and Senator McCarthy, if there is now any question about the authenticity, the genuineness of the document to which we are referring, I would like to call Mr. Adams for one question. If there is no question about it, then I would like to have that proposed press release read into the record at this time. What do you say?

Senator McCarthy. Just one thing. I don't think I would question the authenticity. I am sure this young man would not lie about

this. The thing that I want, however, is No. 1, the first press release proposed.

Mr. Jenkins. We are going to get that momentarily.

Senator McCarthy. I would like to have it established now whether this is the first or second.

No. 2, I would like to see the document so that my staff can tell me whether this is the first press release or not.

Mr. Jenkins. Will you now pass the document to us to which we

have been referring, Mr. St. Clair?

Senator McCartin. Keeping in mind that we did not draft this. It is an Adams-Stevens press release.

Mr. Jenkins. Miss Ruth, before it is passed to Senator McCarthy,

will you let the reporter identify it?

Senator Mundt. It will be marked as "Exhibit No. 8."

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 8" and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. Jenkins. Going back to the Secretary, do you know whether

Senator Mund. Do you know whether or not you have discontinued geustioning Mr. St. Clair? If so, we will unswear him.

Mr. St. Clair. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I may now

be considered to be unsworn?

Senator Mundt. That is correct.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Secretary, do you know whether or not that is the first proposed press release, the one that has now been identified by the reporter dated October 19?

Secretary Stevens. It is so marked and I imagine it is.

Mr. Jenkins. Is it the first one that was prepared by you or anyone at your instance?

Secretary Stevens. I didn't prepare it.

Mr. Jenkins. At your instance or by Mr. Adams?

Secretary Stevens. Prepared by Mr. Adams.

Mr. Jenkins. As far as you know is it the first one prepared by him?

Secretary Stevens. Yes.

Mr. Jenkins. Do you have in the files at the Pentagon or with you today any other draft of any other proposed press release? Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Will you refer to it and tell us the date of it?

Secretary Stevens. It is undated.

Mr. Jenkins. Perhaps Senator McCarthy would prefer that we wait for further questioning until he has examined the document that has been filed.

Senator McCarrix. Mr. Counsel, this would appear to be one of the drafts that were submitted to me with the request that I make this statement. I don't believe this is the first draft. I think if we are

going to go into this, that should be developed.

I frankly would rather continue the interrogation of Mr. Stevens. I have no objection to this being put in the record at this time, however, with the understanding that we question Mr. Adams or the stenographer, whoever the Chair or counsel suggests, to get all of the drafts. That looks like one of the drafts.

Mr. Jenkins. Senator McCarthy, while you are busy examining that draft, we are busy exploring the question of another draft at this time. You were busily engaged reading that one.

Mr. Cohn. I believe this is the second draft.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Stevens, do we understand that you now have before you another draft of another proposed press release?

Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. By whom was it prepared?

Secretary Stevens. As far as I know, Mr. Adams.

Mr. Jenkins. At his dictation? Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Did you know whether it preceded the one that has now been handed Senator McCarthy, or whether it was subsequent thereto?

Secretary Stevens. I don't know of my own certain knowledge, but he tells me it is the succeeding draft or cleanup primarily, not in substance.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Adams tells you that it is a succeeding draft?

Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. That is, it was made subsequent to the one the Senator now holds in his hand?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Mr. Jenkins. And you say it was prepared at the instance or dictation of Mr. Adams?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Mr. Jenkins. Did you compare it with the transcription of Mr. Adams, that is, with his dictation on the machine?

Secretary Stevens. No, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Did Mr. St. Clair do that? We will have to swear

him again.

Mr. St. Clair. I have no objection to being sworn again. I would be willing to stipulate that I would be considered as being sworn to save time.

Mr. Jenkins. Did you compare it, Mr. St. Clair?

Senator Munder. Such a stipulation will be accepted for that purpose.

Mr. Jenkins. Did you compare it with the dictation of Mr. Adams,

the one Mr. Stevens now has?

Mr. St. Clair. I did not, Mr. Jenkins. The draft that is before me now is a so-called cleaned up draft of the original dictated one, as I understand it. There are a few changes in grammar, some changes in punctuation. Other than that, so far as I can determine, there are no changes in substance.

Mr. Jenkins. Have you heard played from the recording the dicta-

tion of Mr. Adams from which this cleanup draft was made?

Mr. St. Clair. No, I haven't, because I believe there is none, Mr. Jenkins. I think the one the Senator has before him was dictated. From the one the Senator has before him there were penciled notations made on it from which the draft I have in front of me was prepared.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, I can shorten this appreciably if I

may be permitted to ask Mr. Adams 1 or 2 question about it.

Mr. St. Clair. Shall I consider myself now unsworn?

Senator Mundt. You are unsworn, and the Chair will now swear Mr. Adams for the purpose of asking Mr. Adams questions on this one question only.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be

the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. Adams. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN G. ADAMS, COUNSELOR TO THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Senator Mundt. Mr. Counsel?

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Adams, it is understood, and I take it it is a fact that you dictated the proposed press release of October 1953, is that

Mr. Adams. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. What document does Mr. Stevens now have in his hand, the second one about which he was interrogated, and being supposedly a proposed press release? Identify that, will you, please?

Mr. Adams. The document I hold in my hand, sir, is a corrected copy of the first draft. I did not dietate to a machine to make the corrected copy. I merely corrected a copy of the first draft in pencil and had it retyped.

Mr. Jenkins. Do you mean by that, Mr. Adams, the document you now hold in your hand is a corrected copy of the draft of October 19?

Mr. Adams. That is correct. This also was prepared on October 19.

Mr. Jenkins. It is not a new or different document except insofar as certain corrections were made?

Mr. Adams. That is right.

Mr. Jenkins. Who made the corrections? Mr. Adams. I did, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Which document did you submit to the Senator to be released to the press? The one you now have in your hand?

Mr. Adam. Insofar as I can remember, sir, I submitted only the

second draft.

Mr. Jenkins. And that is the one you now have in your hand?

Mr. Adams. That is correct, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Will you please hand that or have it handed to the reporter to be identified and then it may be marked to the Senator for inspection.

Senator Mundt. It will be marked "Exhibit No. 9."

(The document above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 9" and

may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. Jenkins. While that is being done, are there any other proposed press releases that you ever dictated at any time that are in existence or that are nonexistent?

Mr. Adams. Insofar as I can recall, there are no proposed press releases that I ever released which would have any bearing on this subject and which we were intending to ask Senator McCarthy to issue other than the document now in this room.

Mr. Jenkins. Then, the only press release that you ever prepared to be released by Senator McCarthy with respect to the subject under inquiry, that is, Fort Monmouth, the investigations and the hearings pertaining to Fort Monmouth, are the two documents now in the possession of the Senator, the last one being a corrected copy of the first; is that correct?

Mr. Adams. I will say that is correct, and I would like to say one thing further.

Mr. Jenkins. You may.

Mr. Adams. These documents were prepared on October 19. They went into the files on about October 21 or 22. I have not looked into the files since then up until a couple of weeks ago. My recollection is that draft No. 2, now before Senator McCarthy, is the one that I submitted to him. I do not recall that a third draft was prepared.

Mr. Jenkins. Is it the one that you discussed with him on October

203

Mr. Adams. It is my recollection that it is.

Mr. Jenkins. Did you ever discuss with him any other press release prepared either by you or by him, with reference to the subject under investigation?

Mr. Adams. Insofar as I can recall, I did not.

Mr. Jenkins. Do you say positively, Mr. Adams, according to your best recollection, that the document dated October 19, 1953, is the only one prepared by you or at your instance, and discussed with Senator

McCarthy?

Mr. Adams. I would like to make one further statement on this subject, if I may, Mr. Chairman. My recollection is that I dictated this document into this machine on the afternoon of the 19th of February. I revised the document and draft No. 2 was sent by messenger by me at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon to Mr. Cohn after a telephone conversation from me in which I suggested that he look the draft over. I do not recall that there were any revisions of the draft, either on the afternoon of the 19th or on the 20th. My files contain no copies of anything subsequent to draft No. 2. I have searched the files carefully.

Mr. Jenkins. And your files contain no draft of any document containing a proposed press release prior to October 19; is that correct?

Mr. Adams. My files contain nothing except the two documents. Perhaps my files contain only two things, this tape from which draft No. 1 was prepared, and draft No. 2, the thermofax copy which is now in front of Senator McCarthy. There are no other records. I have no recollection of ever having destroyed any copies.

Mr. Jenkins. And your memory contains—

Mr. Adams. My memory contains nothing that I haven't told you. Mr. Jenkins. Very well. Does anyone care to cross-examine?

Senator Mundt. We were with Senator Jackson. He has some of his 10 minutes left, if he cares to continue.

Senator Jackson. Do I understand that exhibit 8—was that typed off today or is this the original?

Mr. Adams. It was typed off today. That is the original typed copy which we call the first draft.

Senator Jackson. Typed from the tape?

Mr. Adams. Typed from the tape and the tape is here, if you wish to hear it.

Senator Jackson. May I ask, was there a typed copy made at the time it was dictated into the machine?

Mr. Adams. There was, sir.

Senator Jackson. Where is that copy?

Mr. Adams. I think that is the copy which I corrected by pencil and then had draft No. 2 prepared. I do not find any tissues or any typewritten copy of draft No. 2 in my files. I find only what we call a thermofax copy which is a photograph of draft No. 2.

Senator Jackson. The thing that I am a little puzzled about is I understood what was requested was the original typed copy from the

machine. Now, I don't—where is that original?

Mr. Adams. The original that was typed up from this machine, I presume it was destroyed after it had been recopied with my corrections on it. That is the standard practice in my office.

Senator Jackson. And then the final draft of that became what is

now known as exhibit No. 9?

Mr. Adams. That is correct, sir, and the original, although—the original typed copy although it may have disappeared, it exists on this tape in my voice, if you wish to hear it, dated October 19, 1953.

Senator Jackson. But exhibit No. 9 is in the original form?

Mr. Adams. That is correct.

Senator Jackson. When was that typed? That was typed, ready for mimeographing?

Mr. Adams. No, sir, it was typed, but I don't think we mimeographed it. It may have been, but I don't recollect it.

Senator Jackson. When was it typed?

Mr. Adams. It was typed in time for us to put it on the airplane on the 20th.

Senator Jackson. Twentieth of what? Mr. Adams. Twentieth of October 1953.

Senator Jackson. That is all.

Senator Mundt. Senator Potter or Senator Dworshak? Senator

Symington?

Senator Symington. Mr. Chairman, there are quite a few questions I would like to ask. But this witness has been on the stand, and this is the eighth day. He is one of six principals.

In the interest of expediting this hearing, which is creeping along.

I will pass.

Senator Mundt. Mr. Welch? Mr. Welch. None from me.

Senator Munder. May the Chair remind Senator McCarthy that Mr. Adams is on the witness stand for the purpose of answering questions only about this press release and upon conclusion he will

Senator McCarthy. I only have two questions and then Mr. Cohn

will take over the questioning.

Mr. Adams, it is correct, isn't it, that I never did issue this press release that the Army had prepared for me to issue? I told you that I would issue my own press releases?

Mr. Adams. Mr. Chairman, I understood the authenticity was all

that was to be inquired into. Is that correct?
Senator McCarriy. Is it correct that I refused to issue this or wouldn't authorize it to be issued?

Mr. Adams. Is that correct?

Senator Munder. I am not advising counsel, but it seems we were to talk about the press release. If we are going to talk about the press release, I see no reason why we shouldn't conclude that now.

Senator McCarthy. I don't press the question, Mr. Chairman. I can ask Mr. Stevens. If Mr. Adams does not want to answer it it is all right with me.

Mr. Adams. I am perfectly willing to answer it. I thought I was

bound by certain restrictions as to what I should answer about.

Senator Mund. The Chair will be glad to hear the advice of counsel as to whether he can best expedite the hearings by getting an answer to this question or by unswearing the witness and do it some other time.

Mr. Jenkins. I think it would expedite the hearing if he will answer

that question.

Mr. Adams. Senator McCarthy did not issue the press release.

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Adams, if I suggest to you, sir, that there is a prior

draft and a subsequent draft to this, would I be incorrect?

Mr. Adams. The prior draft to the document in your hand is the one on this tape insofar as I can remember. I recall no subsequent draft. There may very well have been one. My files contain none.

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Adams, is this not a subsequent draft, if I may, sir [indicating document]. I have another copy in mimeographed form which might aid in refreshing your recollection, sir.

Mr. Adams. I don't recognize these. It may very well be.

Senator Mund. The Chair suggests that the document now under question be introduced as exhibit No. 10 and marked accordingly—10 and 11 if you have two documents.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 10 and 11"

and may be found in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. Welch. Mr. Chairman, I am—I may be a little dense at this table. I understood the Senator to say that you had no copies in your

file, Mr. Cohn. Was I incorrect?

Mr. Cohn. I have no copies of the prior draft, Mr. Welch. When you were interrogating me I had not seen what you had, and I could have no conceivable way of knowing what you were talking about. Having examined it, I am now in position to state, and I will state under oath, that there was a prior draft submitted to us which I still have not seen; that there is a subsequent draft, a copy of which we have in the Senator's files, and I have produced it here.

Mr. Welch. Could that be marked for identification?

Mr. Cohn. Certainly, sir, and I would be glad to have that handed

up to you.

Senator Mundt. For the information of Counsel Welch, may I remind him that Mr. Cohn is not under oath at this time. If you wish to cross-examine him when he is under oath, you may have that privilege.

Go ahead, Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Conn. In the interest of expediting matters here, Mr. Chairman, I will renew the suggestion if I might, sir, that I made before. Namely, that we develop this entire matter with Mr. Jenkins and his staff as we have done in other instances.

I believe we have already indicated what we would like to subpena in connection with this, and having made that development and established the fact it might then come into the hearing without consuming all of this time.

I would be very happy to do that with Mr. Jenkins and his staff as

we have done so many other things.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, it is satisfactory to me, but I would like to ask Mr. Adams a question at this time.

Senator McCarthy. Could I ask one question, Mr. Jenkins, first?

Senator Mund. You still have some time of your 15 minutes. Senator McCartin. Mr. Adams, is it correct that you prepared a certain number of drafts of a proposed press release and suggested that I release those in my name; had them mimeographed for release, and that I refused to release those and told you that if you released them in my name I would have no choice but to repudiate that as any document coming from me?

Mr. Adams. That is not correct, Senator. If you will restate the question, I can answer it, but you made no such statement that you

wouldn't have any choice but to repudiate it.

Senator McCarthy. In other words, is the rest of it correct, that I said I would not release it; that I was not allowed to release it under my name?

Mr. Adams. I don't think that is quite correct. Senator McCarthy. Let me ask you this——

Senator Mund. Will the Senator break his questions down in shorter statements?

Senator McCarthy. Yes.

In any event, you did—and I don't accuse you of any wrongdoing; you were doing a job that you thought you were doing exactly according to your boss in the military—in any event, you prepared a press release before you went to Fort Monmouth which was to be released after we left Fort Monmouth by me?

Mr. Adams. If you accepted it.

Senator McCarthy. If I accepted it. You felt that that was a good release and it wouldn't hurt anyone concerned, I assume, and that would be a benefit. To narrow this down, I told you that I felt I could not release that; that I felt it indicated we were dropping the investigation; that we were not; and that while parts of the press release were acceptable, I could not release it under my name because I felt it would be construed by the press to mean that we were withdrawing from the investigation of communism at Fort Monmouth, and we were not. Is that substantially what I told you?

Mr. Adams. Yes.

Senator McCarthy. As a result of that, this release was not issued at all?

Mr. Adams. That is right.

Senator McCarthy. I have no further questions.

Mr. Jenkins. May I ask a question?

Mr. Adams, Mr. Čohn handed to you another document or memorandum and asked you whether or not that was another proposed press

release prepared by you. Is it or not?

Mr. Adams. I don't know, Mr. Chairman. As I stated to you, I had searched my desk, I had found only one copy. I have no recollection of destroying any copies prior or subsequent to it. I searched my memory. I have no recollection of any document other than this one that is before Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Jenkins. Did you examine the document just now handed to

you by Mr. Cohn?

Mr. Adams. I did, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Have you read it?

Mr. Adams. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. As I recall, he handed you a mimeographed document; did he not?

Mr. Adams. That is right.

Mr. Jenkins. Did or not you prepare that document, Mr. Adams? Mr. Adams. I don't know. I would like to search the files in my office and see if we have any mimeographed records which would indicate that it was done. I have no recollection of it now, as I told you.

Mr. Jenkins. Is it dated? We have not seen it. I haven't seen it.

Mr. Adams. I don't remember whether it was dated or not.

Senator Mundt. The Chair suggests that all of these various drafts be submitted to counsel so he can ask questions and have all the evidence before him.

Are there any more drafts?

Mr. Jenkins. Then as we understand, Mr. Adams, you don't know and have no recollection as to whether or not you prepared the draft contained in the mimeographed copy handed to you by Mr. Cohn; is

that correct?

Mr. Adams. I do not. Might I say this, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Jenkins: I have a vague recollection—I am not quite sure of this—that while we were at Fort Monmouth, during the day General Lawton's office mimeographed the document for us. I am not sure that the document that was shown to me is the document that was mimeographed. I had not remembered it until this moment.

Mr. Jenkins. Would that have been a document dictated or pre-

pared by you?

Mr. Adams. I am not sure. I think it was. I am not sure what it was.

Mr. Jenkins. Is it different in substance to the document that you

say you handed to Senator McCarthy to be issued to the press?

Mr. Adams. The document which was prepared at Fort Monmouth which I recall as having been mimeographed at Fort Monmouth, I don't remember. I don't know what it was. It may have been a press release. If it was a press release, it was probably the press release which Mr. Cohn handed me in mimeographed form. I do not recall the circumstances of the mimeographing at Fort Monmouth other than General Lawton, I think, volunteered to get it done during the day.

Mr. Jenkins. Well, were you there, Mr. Adams, for the purpose of

getting Senator McCarthy to issue a press release?

Mr. Adams. No, not primarily.

Mr. Jenkins. Well, were you there for that purpose secondarily? Mr. Adams. No.

Mr. Jenkins. You say "No"?

Mr. Adams. I say "No." I was there accompanying Mr. Stevens

in the inspection of Fort Monmouth.

Mr. Jenkins. But as we understand it you did hand to Senator McCarthy a proposed press release which has been the second document introduced here within the last few minutes; that is correct, isn't it?

Mr. Adams. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. And that was not released? That is correct?

Mr. Adams. No document was released.

Mr. Jenkins. And you say now that you have no recollection, one way or the other, as to whether or not you prepared the mimeographed copy handed to you by Mr. Cohn to be released by Senator McCarthy?

Mr. Adams. I say that. That is correct.

Mr. Jenkins. So that if Mr. Cohn says that that did occur, I take it you are not in a position to deny it, Mr. Adams; is that it?

Mr. Adams. If he says that I did it, I am not in a position to deny it?

Mr. Jenkins. That is my question.

Mr. Adams. I have a pretty good memory. I don't remember this. Mr. Jenkins. That is what I asked you, whether or not you have any recollection.

Mr. Adams. I said I have no recollection of having prepared it, and I have a pretty good memory. The mere fact that he says some-

thing doesn't make it true.

Mr. Jenkins. There was no intimation of that. What is your best memory on it? Did you or did you not prepare this document con-

tained in this mimeographed copy?

Mr. Adams. I have already given you my best recollection. I don't recall the second or third document, the one that is mimeographed. I don't know where it was prepared. There is a possibility that in my files, or in the mimeograph room of the Pentagon we will find a record that that document was mimeographed. I don't recall it.

Mr. Jenkins. Well, if you found a copy of this mimeographed record in your file in the Pentagon, would that refresh your recollec-

tion any more than this original mimeographed one?

Mr. Adams. It certainly would. Mr. Jenkins. It certainly would?

Mr. Adams. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. I have no further questions.

Senator Mundt. Do any of the Senators to my right have any

questions that they care to ask?

The Chair would like to ask Mr. Adams one question. Is there a difference between the wording in the mimeographed version, wherever it was prepared, and the version which you dictated originally into the machine?

Mr. Adams. There is a considerable difference. I didn't read the mimeographed version very closely, but it appeared to me the principal difference between it and the one I dictated was that there were substantial deletions.

Senator Mundt. There were deletions?

Mr. Adams. That is correct. The mimeographed document ap-

peared to be about half as long as the original document.

Senator Mund. The Chair would like to observe that he just got a passing glimpse from all of these exhibits, but I understood the one from your machine was 2 pages and the mimeographed one was 2

Mr. Adams. That is correct.

Senator Mundt. Senator McClellan?

Mr. Adams. I might state something else.

Senator Mundt. You may.

Mr. Adams. About 2 weeks ago I attempted to find the press release that I thought I had prepared for Fort Monmonth. I couldn't find anything except the document we introduced. My recollection then

was that I hadn't prepared the document which ended up as being that long. When I was asked by Mr. Stevens this morning in response to a question from the Chair as to whether or not I had a document, I stated that I had in my files, I did not think I had the final document because I was not sure, but nevertheless the only thing I have in my files is the document which was prepared from this machine. I have no record of anything else, and no memory of anything else. I have some uncertainty as to whether or not the document given to Senator McCarthy was 2 pages long or 1.

Senator Mund. Does the Chair gather from that you have some recollection of having seen a press release which you thought to the

best of your recollection was one page long?

Mr. Adams. I had no recollections then, I have no recollections now of it, but I had a feeling that the document was longer than I remembered it being. I think it would be germane to the issue, Mr. Chairman, so that the people who are listening to this could understand, if the first document and the second document were read. We are talking about something here, and I don't think that anybody other than us can understand it, unless the first document of this machine—

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, I heartily agree with Mr. Adams, that that should be done, that those documents should be read into

the record at this time.

Senator Mund. The Chair thinks that is an excellent idea, because he has not had an opportunity to read any document, and I am sure that is true with other members of the committee. Senator McClellan?

Senator McClellan. Mr. Chairman, I understand the documents or the first one that you propose to read was dictated and that you have the recording of that dictation. I therefore suggest to keep them in their chronological order, that the tape recording of the dictation be introduced first. Then, you can compare for accuracy from there on.

Mr. Jenkins. I think it an excellent suggestion.

Senator Mundt. May the Chair suggest in the interest of expediting the hearings, then, that the playing of the recording be done now and that the counsel follow the playback with the original copy so that we can dispose of those two documents at one time.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Chairman? Senator Mundt. Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy. I am willing to agree that the typewritten document is the same as the recording. Mr. St. Clair says it is. Therefore, I think we can save a lot of time by reading the typewritten

document. I have no objection to playing the recording.

Senator Mundt. Let me ask this question: Is there anybody connected with the committee or with either counsel that insists that we have the recording so that we can validate the first copy or may we accept the first copy as being authentic? The Chair hears no objection. We will accept the first copy as being authentic and ask the counsel to read it.

Mr. Welch. Mr. Chairman? Senator Mundt. Mr. Welch.

Mr. Welch. I was immensely attracted to the validity of the dictated draft from the machine. I suppose some member of the com-

mittee would say they would like to hear it. It is as fast as any other

way. Let us have it that way.

Senator Mund. If you question the validity, we will have it read, we will have the recording read, and have the counsel follow on the playback and see if it is accurate.

Senator McCarthy. May I ask: Does Mr. Welch question the fact that his junior assistant, Mr. St. Clair, has checked this with the

recording?

Senator Mund. Mr. Welch is not a witness at this time. He has not been sworn; consequently, no questions may be directed to him.

All the Chair can say is Mr. Welch raised the point of order, for what reason only he knows, and I can't find out as he is not a witness. He wants to have it played and checked.

Senator Jackson. Mr. Chairman, it is probably faster to play the recording than to read it. Let's go ahead and have it over with.

Senator Mundr. Very well, sir.

Senator McCarthy. Can we have the record very clear that there is no proof at this point that this is the first document that was prepared? There were succeeding documents, each one apparently a little shorter, in an attempt to get me to finally accept one.

I think, if we are going to have this played, then I would like to question Mr. Adams as to whether there was a previous document.

Senator Mund. You have that right when your time comes. All we are trying to establish now is whether all of these documents

are identical and, if not, what changes were made.

They are all in evidence: No member of the committee has had a chance to find out what is in any of them. We will play the recording, counsel will follow it, and we will establish the validity, which no one seems to question about it.

Do you have it there, Mr. Adams?

Mr. Adams. Yes, sir.

Senator Mundt. Very well.

Will the controlman be sure that the microphone in front of Mr. Adams is on?

(Whereupon the recording was played and not able to be undergood.)

Senator Mund. The counsel advises the Chair this is a rather futile procedure, because he cannot understand it.

Mr. Jenkins. Let's read the memorandum.

Senator Mund. If Mr. Welch will withdraw his objection, we will have the counsel read the memorandum, which no one seems to question.

Mr. Jenkins (reading):

I have been very favorably impressed by all that I have seen today at Fort Monmouth and also have been very impressed by the aggressive steps being taken both here at this post by General Lawton, the post commander, and by Secretary of the Army Stevens in Washington to improve security measures at

Fort Monmouth and throughout the Signal Corps.

The facts which the McCarthy subcommittee have developed with respect to security violations and subversion at Fort Monmouth have all been brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Army and the transcripts of all executive sessions have now been submitted to the Army for evaluation and study in connection with the various security cases now being processed by the Army. Additionally, I intend to submit the transcripts of the hearings to the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a determination as to whether perjury has been committed by certain witnesses who have concealed material information from the committee, and also to assist the FBI

In further investigations of individuals whose names were brought before the subcommittee.

I have every confidence that Secretary Stevens and the Army will move immediately and effectively to continue the investigations already undertaken by the subcommittee. I have assured Secretary Stevens that the subcommittee is available to assist the Army however needed in stamping out subversive elements in the Army, and that the subpena power by which a congressional committee can determine facts from reluctant witnesses or ex-employees, but which is not ordinarily available to the head of a department, is available to the Army from this committee on the Army's request provided the Army encounters difficulties in its investigations of subversives and needs help.

I know that there are many thousands of competent, able, and completely loyal Americans in the employ of the Signal Corps at Fort Monmouth. To these many people I can only say that I am proud as a citizen and as a Senator of the work that they are doing. The fact that a very small group, a very small fraction of 1 percent of all of these employees have past records of political beliefs and association of the type to render them suspect is no reflection on the many other faithful employees. Loyal employees know that they are loyal and they should have no concern. Equally, those few whose records are not acceptable know the reasons for their predicament. They are the few bad apples who are tainting the barrel. I believe that our recent hearings have brought their names out and that from here forward the Army should be able to finish the job we have started.

There are still some witnesses under subpens by the subcommittee and they will be heard later this week in New York in executive session. Following those hearings, it is our present plan to hold open hearings on the same subject, probably in New York. At these hearings those individuals whose past records or performances are such as to have cast such a had light over Fort Monmouth will have an opportunity to defend themselves publicly. Those who are unable successfully to do so, of course, will be branded for all to see.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Jenkins?

Senator Mund. May the Chair inquire of Mr. Jenkins whether inadvertently he omitted one phrase from the reading of that report which is in all other particulars identical with this report, except that at the bottom of the second paragraph of this report add the words "in an unfavorable light"? Was that omitted inadvertently, or did it not appear?

Senator Symington. Mr. Chairman.

Senator Mundt. Yes?

Senator Symington. May I suggest in order that we can all get clear in our minds these 3 memorandums—4, I am told—that copies of them be made and that they be put in chronological order, 1, 2, 3, and 4, and then that any deletions or additions in 3 from 1 and 2, or in 4 from 1, 2, and 3, be made in brackets, and that these be made up tonight and given to the committee and the press tomorrow so we will understand what we are talking about.

Senator Mund. That was the suggestion originally made by Mr. Cohn, Senator Symington, which the Chair thought was good, but it has been decided by the committee to proceed on this basis, which

makes it rather difficult.

Senator Symington. I would like to expedite the hearings and to

understand what we are talking about.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Chairman, may I say I heartily agree with what Senator Symington has suggested. It is identical with the suggestion made by Mr. Cohn. There is only one additional point I would like to make. People hearing this read may get the impression that I released this. I wonder if it could be made very clear now that this is one of the releases prepared by Mr. Adams which I refused to release.

Senator Munder. I think that is clear in the record. I think it is perfectly proper, Mr. Counsel, that we follow Mr. Cohn's suggestion on this, because it is rather confusing. There are changes in the wordings of the various documents. It is difficult for the press and others, and the committee, to catch them.

Mr. Adams. I would like also to make the point that Senator Mc-Carthy contends that this press release that I offered him is one which proposed to stop the hearings, and I would like the committee to read that press release and see whether or not that press release does propose

that.

Senator Mundt. We will have all four of the releases before us tomorrow, at which time we can read them and analyze them.

Without objection, Mr. Adams will be unsworn— Senator McCarthy. Before he is, Mr. Chairman— Senator Mundt. Have you another question?

Senator McCarthy. Not a question, but I would like to have Mr. Adams now instructed to check with his secretary for any other recordings, to see if he can't find the original press release as proposed.

May I ask one question: Am I correct in this, Mr. Adams, that there were successive releases offered to me— whether it was 2, or 3, or 4, or 5, you may not remember today. I know you were busy at · that time. But is it true that there were successive releases offered to me, each one deleting some of the material I objected to in an attempt to get a press release that I would release under my name?

Mr. Adams. You say are you correct. I think you are not correct. Senator McCarthy. How many releases were submitted to me?

Mr. Adams. As I have stated to you, my records indicate only this one which I sent to Mr. Cohn. He showed me the document a moment ago, and he asked me if that was another version. It was prepared on a sort of paper which we never use in the Pentagon, and I suspect that if it was another version, perhaps he drafted it and sent it back to me. I am not sure about that.

Senator McCarthy. You are not sure about that?

Mr. Adams. The third version which he offered me, which was mimeographed, I suspect is the thing that was mimeographed at Fort Monmouth. But I think the thing that should be repeated, Senator, and made crystal clear is that the thing the Army proposed to you is the document which Mr. Jenkins read into the record.

Senator McCarrny. Just this one question, Mr. Adams. testimony under oath now that you know that the document Mr. Jenkins read is the first proposed press release that you made to me?

Mr. Adams. That is my recollection. That is the only thing I have in my files. At least it is the only thing we have been able to find.

Senator Symington. Before we continue this argument, with respect to these—

Senator McCarthy. It is not an argument, just questions.

Senator Symington. Can't we get into the record the four documents so we can understand and analyze them as the discussion proceeds?

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Chairman, that is the procedure that Mr. Cohn suggested. Mr. Jackson objected to that. I don't like to leave this.

Senator Jackson. I objected?

Senator McCarthy. You were the one who suggested that the documents be put in the record.

Senator Jackson. What did I object to?

Senator McCarthy. You objected to Mr. Cohn's suggestion, namely

that all the matters be developed by the staff.

Senator Jackson. No. I merely requested that the request of Mr. Cohn—and if I may, I will read it right now—be carried out. On page 1386 of the hearings this morning Mr. Cohn said-

Senator McCarthy. May I make a point of order? Senator Jackson. Yes. I don't think these documents carry out his request.

Senator McCarrily. I think you are right.

Senator Jackson. This is what Mr. Cohn said this morning to Secretary Stevens:

Do you know whether he submitted to Senator McCarthy a statement calling for the stepping of hearings at Fort Monmouth?

Secretary Stevens. I know there was a statement discussed on the plane,

Mr. Cohn, and that is my recollection of the statement.

Mr. Conn. Did that statement, sir, contain language calling for the stopping of hearings at Fort Moumouth?

Secretary Stevens. I have no recollection that it did.

Mr. Conn. Mr. Jenkins, sir, in view of the fact that this is crucial to our case I would ask now, as I believe is perfect procedure, that the Secretary be direct d to produce the original of a draft statement submitted to us by Mr. Adams on October 19, a draft of a statement to be made by Senator McCarthy on October 20 so that we can let it speak for itself.

I assume it is perfectly proper that these statements be submitted in evidence at this time. That is what Mr. Cohn requested.

My point is that the documents as presented here do not bear on the point made by Mr. Cohn, namely, that the hearings were supposed to contain a statement in the press release that they be stopped. I am wondering if there is such a document because we are wasting a lot of time on a request that apparently at this point, at least, there is no documentary evidence to support.

Senator Munder. The Chair understands the proceedings, and I

don't believe you have raised a point of order against them.

These various documents will be mimeographed and placed before the committee tomorrow morning, so they can speak for themselves. At the present time no member of the committee has had a chance to examine all four documents.

Senator McCarruy, Mr. Chairman, in view of Mr. Adams' statement which he volunteered that there is nothing in even the second draft which would indicate that they were asking that the hearings be called off, I would like to read to Mr. Adams two brief excerpts and ask for his interpretation.

No. 1—this is the document prepared by you, Mr. Adams.

exhibit No. 8, the one read by Mr. Jenkins into the record:

I have every confidence that Secretary Stevens and the Army will now immediately and effectively continue the investigations already undertaken by the subcommittee.

And No. 2:

I believe that our recent hearings have brought their names out and from here forward the Army should be able to finish the job we have started.

No. 1, is—let me finish, Mr. Adams. Is this the language you wanted me to make public?

Mr. Adams. May I see it?

Senator McCarthy. I have marked on pages 1 and 2 where I read. Mr. Adams. Yes. I wanted to make it public with the final paragraph which says:

There are still some witnesses under subpens by the subcommittee and they will be heard later this week in New York in executive session. Following these hearings it is our present plan to hold open hearings on the same subject probably in New York.

That doesn't mean closing the hearings.

Senator McCarthy. Let us see now. What does this, when you say—

Mr. Adams. Read the whole memorandum in context.

Senator McCarthy. Let us keep our tempers.

Let us make this clear, Mr. Adams. I am not accusing you of any wrong intent. Don't interrupt, please. Please don't interrupt until I finish.

Mr. Adams. Are you accusing me of anything? Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

Senator Mundt. Counsel will state it.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Adams has successfully gotten in his statement that nowhere in that document does he request the cessation of Senator McCarthy's work with respect to Fort Monmouth. Senator McCarthy has successfully gotten in his contradiction of that statement. The document speaks for itself. It has been heard by all present and by all listening.

It is the prerogative of this committee and of this committee alone to interpret that document and to determine whether or not Mr. Adam's theory is correct or Senator McCarthy's theory is correct.

I see no point in further argument between these two parties, and I suggest that the examination or cross-examination of the Secretary

of the Army now be resumed.

Senator Mund. The Chair will uphold the point of order on the basis that we do not have the documentation before us. It is impossible for the subcommittee to follow these questions about it. This can be resumed tomorrow morning when we have the mimeographed copies. Mr. Adams, you are temporarily unsworn. Mr. Counsel, we will start with you on the go around with Mr. Stevens.

Mr. Jenkins. I have none.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Chairman.

Senator Mundt. Have you a point of order?

Senator McCarthy. Before Mr. Adams leaves——

Senator Mundt. He has been unsworn. We cannot permit him to testify when not under oath.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Chairman. Senator Mundt. A point of order?

Senator McCarthy. Yes. Mr. Adams read the last paragraph of this document. I think he should make it clear that that was the only paragraph that was dictated and partially agreed to by Mr. Cohn. Otherwise you have a different impression.

Senator Mund. The documents will be available later in the hearings and then we will have copies of them. Then, we can go into that.

Senator Symington. I think we ought to have Mr. Adams answer that question. Either we are going to continue to talk about these

documents, or in accordance with the counsel's recommendations, we

are going to stop.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, the documents speak for themselves. It is the exclusive prerogative of this committee to determine the meaning, whether or not the theory of Mr. Adams is correct or that of Senator McCarthy is correct. The point is not one in order and I suggest that we proceed with the examination of the Secretary of the Army.

Senator Jackson. A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Mund. The Chair would like to add that the documents will be before us tomorrow morning and the subcommittee members can ask questions intelligently and will know what is in the documents.

At the present time, none of us have read the documents.

Senator Jackson. Mr. Chairman, I do not think there should be included in the record an unsworn statement that the last paragraph of the document was dictated by Mr. Cohn, unless we have testimony on it. That is all. I mean, the document can't speak for itself, Mr. Counsel, if that statement is correct, because if that is true, then I think in fairness we ought to have sworn testimony to support it. Otherwise, the document does not speak for itself, because it has been introduced in evidence as purporting to have been dictated by Mr. Adams, if I understand the testimony.

Mr. Welch. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Adams made the definite statement that the document did not make any statement with reference to the discontinuance of the investigation of Fort Monmouth. Senator McCarthy contradicts that statement and places a different interpretation upon the document. It is not within the province of either Mr. Adams or Senator McCarthy to place their construction on that document. This committee will do so according to the plain, ordinary, natural intent meant of the language used therein. And I see no point in further quibbling or arguing between those two respective parties to this controversy.

Mr. Welch. Mr. Chairman?

Senator Mundt. Do you have a point of order, Mr. Welch?

Mr. Welch. I have.

Senator Mundt. You may state it.

Mr. Welch. Mr. Chairman, if the experiment of playing the record into the machine would have worked, you would, I think, have found that all of the memorandum was in the voice of Mr. Adams and none of it in the voice of Mr. Cohn.

I therefore suggest that Mr. Jenkins take possession of the belt and make a transcription of that under whatever circumstances he chooses and see if there is a change in voice when you reach the last paragraph.

Senator Mund. You have submitted the belt, and under the suggestion outlined by Mr. Cohn, counsel has all of these documents and all of the paraphernalia, and all the belts, and will try to present to the subcommittee evidence tomorrow morning to which we can interrogate the witnesses with all the facts at hand.

Senator McCarthy. Under the guise of a point of order, Mr. Welch tries to create the impression that Mr. Cohn has been in Mr. Adams'

office. He knows full well that is not true.

He has talked to Mr. Adams. He knows Mr. Cohn has never been in his office. We talked about that last paragraph being dictated; he knows what is meant by that very, very well.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that we proceed with

the examination?

Senator Mundr. We will proceed with Secretary Stevens, as the Chair has been endeavoring to do for the last 10 minutes. I admit he has forgotten how much time was left.

We will start with Senator McCarthy examining Mr. Stevens.

Senator McCartey. I don't think I had 10 minutes.

Senator Mundt. Senator McClellan suggested I had the floor interrogating Mr. Stevens. If I had, I will yield now to Senator Mc-Clellan.

Senator McCarthy. I was reading a letter to Mr. Stevens, I believe, when we shifted to the documents.

Senator Munder. That was the Chair's impression, but Senator McClellan corrected me.

If you are correct, you may continue with your 10 minutes.

Senator McCarthy. I have no objection to Senator McClellan taking the floor.

Senator McClellan. Senator McClellan doesn't want the floor.

only wants everybody to hurry.

Senator Mundt. Will the timekeeper advise Senator McCarthy how much of the interrupted 10 minutes he has?

Senator Jackson. Let's start afresh.

Senator Mundr. We will start with a new 10 minutes. You may

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Stevens, do you still recall the content of the letter of March 15, 1954, that I read you, or would you rather have me pass that to you, or would you rather have me read it over? Secretary Stevens. May I see it, Senator?

Senator McCarthy. Certainly.

(Document handed to the witness.)

Senator McCarthy. The penciled notations on the bottom are mine and did not go into the original letter.

Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir; I recall the letter.

Senator McCarthy. You received the letter. Could I have it back? In this I requested the information. I requested you to tell me when I would get the information that you promised us with regard to the promotion of Peress, is that right?

Secretary Stevens. That is right?

Senator McCarthy. Did you answer that letter, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary Stevens. No; I don't think I did.

Senator McCarthy. That is an example, I assume, of your usual cooperation.

Secretary Stevens. I take exception to that, Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarrny. Why didn't you answer the letter?

Secretary Stevens, I didn't know when the material would be available.

Senator McCarthy. Why didn't you write me to tell me that?

Secretary Stevens. I had a lot going on.

Senator McCartny. Could you not have contact with the Inspector General and ask him when the information would be available? Secretary Stevens. Yes, I could have done that.

Senator McCarthy. It was a rather important matter, wasn't it?

Secretary Stevens. Senator McCarthy, the Inspector General had instructions from me to do this job and do it right, and when the material was available I was obligated to supply you with whatever

names came out of the report.

Senator McCarthy. You said you had instructed him to get this information for you in February. On March 15 I write and I tell you I want "all the facts which we discussed with you about this fifth amendment major, and therefore will you please inform me as to the date when the above information will be available." You felt it was unnecessary to answer that, I gather; is that correct?

Secretary Stevens. I didn't know the data.

Senator McCarthy. You felt it was unnecessary to answer that letter?

Secretary Stevens. I was already committed and still am and will be, to produce the information you want, Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy. The question was, Did you feel it unnecessary to answer that letter?

Secretary Stevens. I don't recall having that.

Mr. Jenkins, Pardon me.

Mr. Secretary, you have not given him a direct answer to that question. He has asked you that question three times. I do dislike so much interrupting and making those suggestions, but we will get along. His question is: Did you think it necessary to answer the letter? That is very simple. Did you or not?

Secretary Stevens. I guess perhaps I didn't give it the proper

amount of consideration.

Senator Symington. The question, Mr. Secretary, is: Did you or did you not think it was necessary to answer?

Secretary Stevens. I personally did not think it was necessary to

answer that.

Senator McCarthy, I see.

Then let's take another letter, of March 3, 1954, and I ask you to follow this and tell me whether you remember having received this:

My Dear Mr. Stevens: By letter on February 1, 1954, I asked—

February 1. This should be March 15, I gather—

I asked you to furnish the names of the persons responsible for the promotion. honorable discharge—

strike that.

By letter on February 1, 1954, I asked you to furnish the names of the persons responsible for the promotion, honorable discharge, and interference in orders for Maj. Irving Peress. This request has been reiterated informally since that time and on February 24, 1954, you agreed to furnish this information. Some time has elapsed. No such report has been forthcoming. I observe that the failure to comply and submit the report cannot be due to lack of time and available manpower to work on reports emanating from the Army. I am sure you can appreciate the importance of this matter in view of the fact that special favors were conferred on Peress at a time when Army files indicated his Communist Party membership and his activity as an organizer for the Communist Party.

Very truly yours,

JOE McCarthy, Chairman.

Did you answer that letter? Secretary Stevens. What was the date of that? Senator McCarthy. March 30, 1954. Secretary Stevens. I don't recall having answered it. Senator McCarthy. Would you like to see it and see whether you recall having received it?

(Secretary Stevens examining document.)

Secretary Stevens. My recollection, Senator—and I will have to check this—is that one of these letters I did acknowledge, and it said that the report was in process of being gotten up, and we would let you know when we had it. That is my recollection. I don't have a copy of my letter. I don't know if you have anything there that you received from me.

Senator McCarthy. Then let me read you this wire:

APRIL 12, 1954.

Hon. Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army, Washington, D. C.:

Would greatly appreciate reply to my letters of March 15 and March 30.

(Signed) JOE McCARTHY.

Secretary Stevens. I would have to check up and see whether I answered either of those, Senator. My recollection is that I had sent word to you one way or another that this report was in the works.

Senator McCartify. One way or another. What would be the other

way, Bob?

Secretary Stevens. By telephone call to your office.

Senator McCarthy. If you did, you would have a monitor of that call? You would have no trouble checking that telephone call?

Secretary Stevens. I think we could probably find out about that. Senator McCartiff. Incidentally, have you discontinued monitoring calls since Secretary of Defense Wilson said that that was—I forgot what his words were—a reprehensible practice, or something that should not be continued, or do you still monitor them?

Secretary Stevens. That isn't what Mr. Wilson said, as I under-

stood.

Senator McCarthy. The language may be wrong, but he did say that the practice should be discontinued, didn't he? He condemned it.

Mr. Jenkins. I hold that is wholly irrelevant to the issues under consideration.

Senator Mund. The Chair upholds the point of order. It doesn't have anything to do with the particular charges at the moment.

Senator McCarthy. Just a minute, Mr. Chairman. The Secretary says that he perhaps answered me by telephone. If he did, it is important to know whether he has a record of the phone call. That is the only way I can tell.

Mr. Jenkins. That particular question is proper.

Senator Mundt. You can ask him if he is monitoring phone calls

on the date you ask the question, not as of now.

Senator McCarthy. This wire was on April 12. Let us give you a reasonable time to answer it, let us say a week, up to April 19. Were you still monitoring telephone calls on April 19, 1954?

Secretary Stevens. I think the answer is yes.

Senator McCarthy. So, in view of the fact that I have no record of your having written me, you think you may have phoned us. Can you check these monitored calls and tell me if and when you answered this?

Secretary Stevens. Yes; if I did, Senator. I don't know whether I did nor not, but I have a recollection of getting word to you somehow that this report was proceeding and you would get it in due course, that is, you would get the names you asked for.

Senator McCarthy. You think you got it to me somehow, but you

don't know how?

Secretary Stevens. No; I don't recall.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Secretary, when one of the Senators wrote to you for a report on Mr. Schine, who had been active in exposing Communists, it took only 2 days to get the report back. When I write you about a Communist major, I have to wire you and write you successively over a period from February 1 up to April 12; still no report. Would you say that there is any difference in your handling of reports on those who are against communism and those who are taking the fifth amendment as to their Communist activities?

Secretary Stevens. May I have that read back, Senator? Senator Mundt. The reporter will read the question.

(Whereupon, the question referred to was read by the reporter as

above recorded.)

Secretary Stevens. I would not—in other words, Senator, as far as Private Schine was concerned we had received inquiries from Congressmen and Senators over a long period of time with respect to that matter, and it finally came to a head at the time of Senator Potter's letter.

Senator McCartily. You said——

Secretary Stevens. I also wrote you on the 16th of February and told you that I put the Inspector General to work on the thing, all about the case and published a letter so you knew I was working on that. I had signed my name to a letter stating that we were doing a job.

Senator McCarriy. You told us here repeatedly that you wanted to cooperate with the committee, that you didn't want to call off the

hearings, that you just wanted them changed.

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Senator McCarthy. You recall these unanswered letters and wires. Is that your idea of cooperation, Mr. Secretary? Is that what we

can expect in the future when the hearings are continued?

Secretary Stevens. I think since you knew, because I had written you on the 16th of February, and you knew exactly what I was doing and I said in that letter that when the Inspector General's report was complete I would supply the information I had agreed to and the memorandum of understanding, you were not left without information.

Senator McCarthy. You say you wrote me in February and said you were making an investigation?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Senator McCarthy. And in March I wrote and said:

Therefore, will you please inform me as to the date when the above information will be available?

Is it your testimony that because you wrote me in February you felt you need not tell me in March if and when the information would be available?

Secretary Stevens. No, not necessarily that, Senator, but at least you were not in a position of having no information, because I had written you fully about it on the 16th of February.

Senator McCarthy. You said you wrote me fully?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Senator McCarthy. Writing me fully was to the effect that you would not or could not give me any information at that time, that I would get it as some future date. Is that what you call writing me fully?

Secretary Stevens. Well, if you would look at that letter, it was a rather complete letter, because in it I told you some of the steps that I was taking to make sure there was no other Peress cases coming along.

Senator McCarthy. Did you ever, up to this moment, give me any information in regard to those who had given special favors to this fifth-amendment Communist?

Secretary Stevens. The information, Senator, depends upon the Inspector General's report, which, as I testified this morning, I expect to receive any day.

Senator McCarriiy. Why do you expect to receive it? Has he told

you he was going to give it to you?

Secretary Stevens. It is just about finished, I think.

Senator McCarthy. How do you know? You said you have not contacted him.

Secretary Stevens. No, I haven't contacted him, but I just have a feeling that the thing must be about ready.

Senator Mundr. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. Jenkins?

Mr. Jenkins. I pass, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Mundr. The Chair passes. Any of the Senators to my right?

Any of the Senators to my left?

Senator Jackson. I pass.

Senator McClellan, I pass.

Senator Mundr. Mr. Welch?

Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarrity. Just 1 minute, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Mundt. You have 10 minutes.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Secretary, Senator McCarthy examined you this morning, sir, about visits you made to various members of this committee in February of 1954. You said about General Zwicker.

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Mr. Cohn. I would now like to ask you, sir, whether or not on January 20, January 21, and January 22, of 1954, to your knowledge, representatives of your office communicated with members of this subcommittee and said that if Senator McCarthy persisted in his plan to call members of the loyalty board who had cleared Communists, you would cause—your office would cause to be issued a report concerning me?

Secretary Stevens. I was in the Far East at the time and knew

nothing about it.

Mr. Cohn. I know that, sir. Have you since learned that such attempts were made?

Secretary Stevens. I have not.

Mr. Conn. Is it your testimony, sir, that no information has reached you since your return?

Secretary Stevens. I have been told that Mr. Adams called on some

members of the committee, yes, but I wasn't present.

Mr. Cohn. Were you told, sir, that Mr. Adams said to those members of the committee that if subpenss are received on members of this loyalty board which cleared Communists, a nasty report would be circulated about Roy Cohn?

Secretary Stevens. I certainly am not familiar with any such thing.

Mr. Cohn. Have you been told that, sir?

Secretary Stevens. No; I haven't been told that.

Mr. Cohn. Have you discussed that with Mr. Adams?

Secretary Stevens. Have I discussed that? Yes; I discussed with Mr. Adams the fact that he went and called on some of the Senators; that is correct. I know that he did, I know that he called on some, but I wasn't there, and I don't know what the conversation was.

Mr. Cohn. Did he call on them, sir, to stop the issuance of subpenss

to members of the loyalty board which cleared Communists?

Secretary Stevens. I think you ought to ask Mr. Adams that, because I was in the Far East.

Senator Munder. You will have to limit your questions as to whether

the Secretary knows anything about that.

Mr. Cohn. My only inquiry, sir—maybe I didn't make it clear—is directed to the Secretary's knowledge as to whether Mr. Adams told, on his return, that he, Mr. Adams, had communicated with various members of the subcommittee and had tried to stop the issuance of subpenas to members of the loyalty board which cleared Communists.

Secretary Stevens. I don't know anything about that. I am sure that we were working within the limits of the Presidential Executive

order to cover this situation in regard to loyalty boards.

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Stevens, I would like to leave this topic, if I could get an answer to this question: When you came back from the Far East, did Mr. Adams tell you that he had communicated with various members of the subcommittee in an attempt to stop the issuance of subpensa to members of the Pentagon and the Army loyalty board which had cleared Communists?

Secretary Stevens. He told me that he had called on members up here, and it had something to do with the loyalty board, but I don't

know exactly what was said, Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Stevens, don't you know that the purpose of those visits by Mr. Adams was to stop the issuance of subpensa to members

of the loyalty board? Didn't he tell you that. sir?

Secretary Stevens. I know that we have these Presidential directives that we have to operate within, and I would take it, Mr. Cohn, that what you were asking for probably came in conflict with one of those directives.

Mr. Coin. Sir, if I might say once more, and if I don't make it clear, tell me, and I will try to rephrase the question: I would like to know if, on your return from the Far East, Mr. Adams told you that he had communicated with various members of this subcommittee and asked their help to stop the issuance of subpenas to members of your loyalty board which had cleared Communists?

Secretary Stevens. He told me substantially along that line; yes. Mr. Cohn. Your answer is "Yes." That is all I wanted.

Secretary Stevens. Substantially along that line, he told me about the lovalty board.

Mr. Cони. I am sorry, Senator.

Senator McCarthy. In view of the fact that this concerns counsel, I would like to ask you these questions. Did he also tell you that he had informed certain Senators that if we issued those subpenas that he would issue a report charging Mr. Cohn with misconduct?

Secretary Stevens. He did not.

Senator McCarthy. Didn't he tell you, Mr. Stevens, that when he contacted certain Senators he told them that if subpenss were issued that your Department would issue a report charging misconduct on Mr. Cohn's part?

Secretary Stevens. He did not.

Senator McCarthy. When did you first learn, if ever, that such a warning or statement had been made by Mr. Adams or by anyone else? Secretary Stevens. I don't know anything about any warning.

Senator McCarthy. When did you first hear of the report? I am not asking you to pass on whether it is true or not. When did you first hear of the report or the allegation that Mr. Adams had made the statement that if we issued subpenss for those who had cleared men with communistic backgrounds, that if we did that, there would be issued a report, a charge, call it what you may-

Secretary Stevens. I never heard any such statement.

Senator McCarthy. Let me finish—emanating from your Department, alleging misconduct on Mr. Cohn's part?

Secretary Stevens. I never heard any such statement.

Senator McCarthy. You never did?

Secretary Stevens. No, sir. Senator McCarthy. Did you ever come to me and complain about any alleged misconduct on Mr. Cohn's part?

Secretary Stevens. Did I ever come to you?

Senator McCarthy. Yes.

Secretary Stevens. And complain about Mr. Cohn?

Senator McCarthy. Yes. Secretary Stevens. I think you were well aware of what our attitude was with respect to the pressure Mr. Cohn was putting on us.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Stevens, you can answer my question; will you? Did you ever complain to me of any misconduct or any pressure on the part of Mr. Cohn?

Secretary Stevens. Mr. Adams did, repeatedly.

Senator McCarthy. You are telling on what Mr. Adams did?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Senator McCarthy. I am asking you. Did you, Robert T. Stevens, ever complain to me about any misconduct on the part of my chief counsel?

Secretary Stevens. I complained to you about some things when you kept trying to get Schine assigned to New York, for example,

Senator McCarthy. I think you should answer this question, Mr. Secretary. There has been considerable complaint that you have been kept on the witness stand too long. You will be kept on—

Mr. Jenkins. May I suggest, Mr. Secretary, that the answer to the question is very simple and we certainly will get along much more expeditionsly if you will answer his questions. That is, did you personally ever complain to Senator McCarthy about Mr. Cohn and Mr. Cohn's alleged efforts to get preferential treatment for Schine?

Secretary Stevens. I did not personally do that.

Mr. Jenkins. That is an answer, Senator.

Secretary Stevens. And for the reason that most of the pressure was coming on to Mr. Adams from Mr. Cohn, and Adams was therefore the one that complained.

Mr. JENKINS. All right.

Senator Mundt. Senator McCarthy?

Senator McCarthy. Did you not repeatedly praise Mr. Cohn to me? Secretary Stevens. No, sir; I don't recall that.

Senator McCarthy. Don't you recall ever praising Mr. Cohn?

Secretary Stevens. I do not.

Senator McCarthy. You never said any good about him? Secretary Stevens. I wouldn't say I never said anything good about him, but I don't recall going out of my way to praise him.

Senator McCarthy. Didn't you repeatedly praise Mr. Cohn to me?

Secretary Stevens. I do not recall ever having done that.

Senator McCarthy. Now, Mr. Stevens, as you know, Mr. Cohn has a background of having taken a large part in the prosecution of the Rosenberg case, the Rosenbergs who were executed, and the William Remington, the case of the second-string Communists, and, as you know very well, he was the attorney who presented the case before the grand jury which exposed 39 Communists in the U. N.-

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the Senator may

ask those questions instead of making statements of fact.

Senator McCarthy. I will say, are you aware of those facts? Secretary Stevens. Yes; I know about some of those facts.

Senator McCarthy. When you were talking to me on various occasions did we not discuss Mr. Cohn's background and did you not tell nie that you felt that I was extremely lucky to have been able to persuade Mr. Cohn to come with the committee?

Secretary Stevens. Senator McCarthy, I am also interested in the

military records of young people.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Secretary, may I suggest that you answer his

question, please?

I dislike interrupting and I hope you know that. But when you do answer his questions directly he goes to another question and we are to that extent nearer the end of this investigation.

Senator Mund. The Chair will add that, if you can do that, then

you can make a statement of explanation afterward.

Secretary Stevens. Can I have the question?

Senator Mundt. Yes.

(The reporter read from his notes as requested.)

Secretary Stevens. I have no recollection of any such statement.

Senator Mundt. Senator McCarthy?

Senator McCarthy. Let me ask you this: You say you have no recollection of any such statement. Do you recollect, Mr. Stevens, in the presence of witnesses, discussing with me Mr. Cohn's record of fighting communism and indicating—I can't quote you verbatim—indicating that you felt I was extremely lucky to have secured the services of Mr. Cohn? Do you recall that?

Secretary Stevens. No, I don't. I have already testified that I

don't.

Senator McCartin. The other day you made the statement, in answer to, I believe it was, Mr. Jenkins' questions—he asked whether or not you held a grudge or prejudice—I don't know what word he used—against Mr. Cohn, and you said, "I would prefer not answering that question"?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Senator McCarthy. I wonder if you want to have the record stand that you don't want to answer whether or not you hold personal animosity, personal hard feelings toward this young man?

Secretary Stevens. I don't see any reason at this point to change

the answer I gave to Senator Dirksen's question.

Senator McCarthy. I am going to turn the questioning back to Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Stevens—do I have some time left, Senator Mundt? Senator Mundt. May I inquire of the timekeeper how much time is left for the Cohn-McCarthy side?

Thirty seconds.

Mr. Conx. I can neither take a new topic nor see the Secretary.

Senator McCarthy. I am sorry I turned it back with only 30 seconds to go. In view of the fact that there is only 30 seconds, let me ask you this, Mr. Secretary: The other day you were being questioned about a telephone conversation made from Mr. Adams to you with regard to General Lawton, the commanding officer at Fort Monmouth, and you were questioned about the subject of that conversation. At that time Mr. Jenkins, and I think rightly so, gave you an opportunity to refresh your recollection by talking to Mr. Adams, who was behind you at that time, so you could tell the committee about the telephone conversation. You refused to discuss the matter with Mr. Adams at that time. I was very much surprised, in view of the fact that you said all this array around you is for the purpose of giving you information.

Let me ask you now——

Senator Mundt. The Senator's time has expired, so we will have to revert back.

Mr. Jenkins, any questions?

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Secretary, just a few questions, please.

Do I understand now that when you returned from the Orient you went to certain members of this committee—I believe the record shows the Republican members, and the Democratic members were not present.

Senator McClellan. For the sake of accuracy, the Democrats were

not members of the committee at that time.

Mr. Jenkins. Did you go to certain members of this subcommittee at that time, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary Stevens. On two different occasions I did—

Mr. Jenkins. Did you go to the members of the subcommittee, or did Mr. Adams go, with respect to Senator McCarthy's expressed intention or threat, whatever you desire to call it, to have subpensed before his committee certain members of the Loyalty Board? Was that you or Mr. Adams?

Secretary Stevens. That was Mr. Adams.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Adams told you about that visit with certain members of the subcommittee, did he not, as we understand it? That is correct; isn't it?

Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Secretary, was the purpose of that visit by Mr. Adams as expressed to you by Mr. Adams, to get members of the sub-committee to prevail upon Senator McCarthy not to pursue his avowed intention of having members of the Loyalty Board subpensed as witnesses?

Secretary Stevens. As I understand it, Mr. Jenkins, with the existing laws, directives, and Executive orders governing the making available of loyalty information and membership of loyalty boards, and that sort of thing, he went there for the purpose of explaining that to the Senators in order that they do not subpen something that we did not think we could provide under the law.

Mr. Jenkins. In short, you did not want members of the Loyalty Board subpensed to appear before the McCarthy committee; is that

right, Mr. Stevens?

Secretary Stevens. Yes; that is correct, and in line with the law as I understand it.

Mr. Jenkins. In line with the law or with a directive?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Mr. Jenkins. That was the only reason?

Secretary Stevens. Absolutely.

Mr. Jenkins. Well, Mr. Stevens, did Mr. Adams ever intimate to you that at that time he made any statement to any member of the subcommittee that if that were done, that is, a member of the Loyalty Board submitted before the McCarthy committee, he would issue a smear on Roy Cohn?

Secretary Stevens. No, sir.

Mr. Jenkins. Is this the first time you ever heard of such a thing as that?

Secretary Stevens. It certainly is the first time I ever heard any-

thing so vividly put as all this has been put.

Mr. Jenkins. Do you tell us—and I don't know—do you tell us that it was a violation of the law or a violation of a Presidential directive or a directive of the Secretary of Defense to have subpensed before Senator McCarthy's committee any member of the Loyalty Board to ascertain why he had cleared what the Senator referred to as a fifth amendment Communist?

Secretary Stevens. Mr. Jenkins, I am not a lawyer, but my understanding of the law is that that would not be in accordance with the

existing law, directives, and Executive orders.

Mr. Jenkins. And you say that it was for that reason and for that reason alone that neither you nor Mr. Adams wanted Senator McCarthy to bring before him a member of the Loyalty Board?

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Mr. Jenkins. That is all I have to ask.

Senator Munder. The Chair has no questions. Senator McClellan? Senator McClellan. Just for the sake of accuracy, did you understand the date about which Senator McCarthy or Mr. Cohn was inquiring with respect to your conversations with Members of the Senate or

members of this committee with respect to your alleged threat that if members of the Loyalty Board were subpensed, you would issue a smear statement on Mr. Cohn—what date was that?

Secretary Stevens. That was when I was in the Far East—

Senator McClellan. When were you in the Far East, and when did you get back?

Secretary Stevens. I left on the 17th of January and came back on

the 3d of February.

Senator McClellan. Then you were not here on the 19th, 20th, and 21st, along there, in January?

Secretary Stevens. Did I say February or January? If I said

Senator McClellan. Let's get it straight. I don't know whether you left here in January or February.

Secretary Stevens. I will tell you, sir. I was away from the 17th

of January to the 3d of February in the Far East.

Senator McClellan. All right. That gets it straight. That is all, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to get the date.

Senator Mundt. Senator Dirksen or any member on my right?

Senator Jackson and any member to my left?

Senator Jackson. Just one question.

I understood your testimony in response to the questions put by counsel. Mr. Jenkins, that you felt, on advice, apparently, from counsel, that you could not give the names of the people on the Loyalty Review Board or make them available for testimony.

Secretary Stevens. That was my understanding. Senator Jackson. Then later was it agreed at this luncheon that you would make them available, at the luncheon on February 24— Secretary Stevens. No, sir.

Senator Jackson. The Republican luncheon, not the Democratic.

Secretary Stevens. That wasn't discussed that day, as I recall it, Senator Jackson.

Senator Jackson. I understood there was an agreement—was there not an agreement later to make the names of these people available?

Secretary Stevens. The agreement as of February 24 was that after the Inspector General's report was complete, the names of military personnel who had been connected with the Peress case would be made available to this committee.

Senator Jackson. And that would not violate any Executive order? Secretary Stevens. No. In appearing before the committee, Senator Jackson, they would have to testify within the limits of existing Executive orders and Presidential directives.

Senator Jackson. Your agreement qualified it to that extent? Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Senator Jackson. That is all.

Senator Mundt. Senator Symington?

Senator Symington. Mr. Secretary, I have no questions, but I would like, if I may, to make a suggestion. Apparently this is the end of the eighth day, and you are going into the ninth day. I am sure you are handling these questions better than I could, after 8 long days of just listening to them. Nevertheless, if I may suggest sir, if you will answer yes or no, then if you have something additional that you would like to say, I think the hearings would go forward faster. Secretary Stevens. I will be glad to try to do that, Senator Symington.

Senator Symington. That is all I have.

Senator Mundt. Mr. Welch?

Mr. Welch. Nothing.

Senator Mundt. Mr. Cohn or Senator McCarthy? I think it was Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Cohn. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Stevens, was not the situation concerning members of the Loyalty Board identical to the situation concerning the people who gave special treatment to Peress? In other words, that they must, under law, appear before the committee, and, having appeared, they may then invoke a Presidential directive as to certain questions?

Secretary Stevens. You are a lawyer, and you are giving me, apparently, the answer. I would have thought there was some dif-

ference in it, Mr. Cohn.

Mr. Cohn. I am sure, Mr. Secretary, you are perfectly free to consult with Mr. Welch or any of your counsel, who I am sure can give you more competent advice on this than I can. But I would like to agree with you that the fact is exactly the same, because I think that will become very important.

Secretary Stevens. I wouldn't think it was the same, because a loyalty board is a board, and the names that I have agreed to supply to this committee from an Inspector General report are individual officers operating in individual capacities and not as a loyalty board.

Mr. Cohn. Sir, let's stick to the loyalty board. Can you, with advice of your counsel, cite to me any regulation which gives immunity from subpena to members of a loyalty board, any Presidential directive, regulation, or anything else which says that a member of the loyalty board need not physically appear before a Senate committee? I say that there is no such in this country. And if there is one, I would like to be enlightened.

Secretary Stevens. May we have the right to submit a memorandum to you in the morning and give you the benefit of the regu-

lations that are outstanding?

Mr. Conn. Whatever Mr. Jenkins—

Secretary Stevens. I am not a lawyer. I can't quote verse and

chapter on the law.

Senator Mund. The Chair understands that Mr. Welch and Mr. St. Clair are not necessarily authorities on War Department procedure. They are here in a special capacity for this hearing. You may like to consult with your special counsel, and the Chair will say that you may have until tomorrow morning for a memorandum on this.

Mr. Cohn. I would like to have them tell you or put it in the same memorandum whether it is not a fact that there is not one person in the United States of America, any citizen, who is immune to appear from a subpena. You can cover that in the same memorandum.

Senator Munder. The Chair believes that the only thing the Secre-

tary can testify to is with regard to the War Department.

Mr. Cohn. Very well, sir. In any event, we do have it as your testimony today, that Mr. Adams told you when you returned from the Far East that he had gone to various members of this subcommittee and asked them to prevail upon Senator McCarthy not to sub-

pena members of this loyalty board which, according to the Senator, had cleared Communists?

Secretary Stevens. That is about the way I understood it from

Mr. Adams.

Mr. Cohn. Now, Mr. Stevens, is it not a fact, sir, that in October a member of the loyalty board had been subpensed by this committee and had appeared without any legal objection as to his appearance having been raised?

Secretary Stevens. I don't know. Perhaps that is so. Mr. Cohn. Did you ever hear of the name Sherrod East? Secretary Stevens. Sherrod East? It doesn't ring a bell.

Mr. Cohn. Could I refresh your recollection, sir, by telling you he was a member of your screening board and that he appeared before our committee in executive session in October 1953 and testified without any legal objection being interposed as to his physical appearance?

Secretary Stevens. You are telling me something that if I knew about it has slipped my mind.

Mr. Coun. Sir, I suggest that I spoke to you on the telephone about that from your home.

Secretary Stevens. You may have.

Mr. Cohn. I don't want to press you on this if you have no recollection. Could you refresh your recollection on that overnight, sir, and possibly——

Secretary Stevens. Do you mean on whether or not you telephoned

me ?

Mr. Cohn. On two things. Whether or not you are aware of the fact that Sherrod East, a member of this very same screening board, had appeared before our committee in October 1953 without any legal objection. There was objection, sir, but not legal objection, as to his physical appearance; and whether or not you and I discussed that on the telephone the night of his appearance.

Secretary Stevens. Would you supply me with a copy of the tran-

script, too?

Mr. Cohn. I think that has already been supplied your office, but we will be happy to supply——

Secretary Stevens. What is the date?

Mr. Cohn. I think it was October 9. We will be happy to supply an additional copy. We will be very happy to supply a copy of that to your counsel, sir.

Secretary Stevens. Thank you.

Mr. Cohn. And then after you have had a chance to refresh your recollection, my question to you, sir, will be if it was proper to do this in October why was it not proper to do this in January?

Secretary Stevens. Well, we might have made a mistake in October.

Senator McCarthy. Or in January.

Mr. Cohn. Now, Mr. Stevens, is it not a fact, sir, that the security screening board—I will withdraw that and open up a new topic here which we think is of considerable importance. Will you agree with us, sir, that before this committee began its investigation of the Signal Corps—

Senator McCarthy. May I interrupt, Mr. Cohn?

Mr. Cohn. Yes.

Senator McCarthy. Before you go onto another topic, could I have the Secretary tell me: Who told you that under the law or Presidential regulations, members of the loyalty boards should not answer to a subpena? Who advised you of that?

Secretary Stevens. I think quite a number of people. I think that

was discussed quite widely within the Department of the Army.

Senator McCarthy. Name 1 or 2, would you?

Secretary Stevens. Well, I would say that the Judge Advocate General's Office would certainly be in a thing like that.

Senator McCarthy. Was it?

Secretary Stevens. I would say that John Martin, my administrative assistant, was in it.

Mr. Jenkins. Mr. Secretary, he asked you the specific question of whether or not the Judge Advocate General's Office was or was not in on that, and so advised you.

Secretary Stevens. Well, I got my advice from a lot of different

sources, Mr. Jenkins, and I am sure that would be one of them.

Mr. Jenkins. I know, but you haven't answered the question. Did or not the Judge Advocate General's Office advise you whether or not it was violative of a Presidential directive or the law to have subpensed before the McCarthy committee a member of the loyalty board? That is the specific question the Senator asked you, and I repeated it.

Secretary Stevens. I would say that they did.

Mr. Jenkins. You will say that they did? Now, you have a direct answer, Senator.

Senator McCarthy. Who in the Judge Advocate's Office?

Secretary Stevens. I can't give you the name.

Senator McCarthy. Was it done in writing or verbally?

Secretary Stevens. I think it was done verbally, although there have been many memorandums on this whole subject within the Department of the Army and the Department of Defense.

Senator McCarthy. In other words, memorandums were written

to you on this subject of whether or not members of the-

Secretary Stevens. Not necessarily to me, but on the whole subject of security. This has been a very big and very wide subject, and there has been an awful lot of work done on it by an awful lot of

people.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Secretary, I am not speaking now of the whole subject of the security. It has now been established that Mr. Adams did come to the Senators and try to induce them in turn to either prevail on me or vote me down so I could not issue subpenss to the loyalty board. I believe you have stated, not in so many words, but I believe you have stated that the reason for that was that you felt that to have them appear would be a violation of either the law or some Presidential directive.

Secretary Stevens. That was my feeling about the matter.

Senator McCarthy. Now, let us restrict ourselves to that subject and not to the whole field of security. Have you gotten a memorandum from any of the legal lights over in the Pentagon so advising you?

Secretary Stevens. I would have to look it up, Senator. I don't

have any here.

Senator McCarthy. You don't know?

Secretary Stevens. No, sir.

Senator McCarthy. Do you know whether Mr. Adams so advised you?

Secretary Stevens. I think he probably did.

Senator McCarthy. You think he probably did?

Secretary Stevens. Yes. I think we had the matter up with the

Attorney General.

Senator McCarrix. Let's get this question and answer clear, if we may. I am not speaking now about the right of someone in the military or any other branch of the Government to refuse to answer certain questions, if an answer would violate a rule under which they were operating.

I am speaking now of the right of anyone in Government, anyone in your department, to refuse to honor a subpena, and just say, "I will

not come."

Do I understand that Mr. Adams, who is here at the end of the table, advised you that members of the screening board were immune from a subpena, did not have to answer a subpena under the law?

Secretary Stevens. No; I wouldn't go that far. But I know that it was a matter of sufficient importance so that while I was in the Far

East the matter was taken up with the Attorney General.

Senator McCarthy. All right. Now, before you went to the Far East, you met with me and asked me not to call the members of the Loyalty Board until your return, is that correct?

Secretary Stevens. I don't recall that; no.

Senator McCartny. Mr. Stevens, didn't you call me up and ask me to meet you over at the Carroll Arms? Didn't we spend abount 2 hours there?

Secretary Stevens. Not for that purpose. Not for that purpose.

Senator McCarthy. Did we discuss that when we were there? Secretary Stevens. I don't recall having discussed that. I remember a number of items that were discussed, but I don't remember that one.

Senator McCarthy. Did you and I discuss this particular question we are discussing today, namely that you have no authority to order anyone not to appear, that they had to answer the subpena but when they were before the committee then they could refuse to answer any question which would violate any order?

Secretary Stevens. I recall no such conversation at the Carroll

Arms before I left for the Far East.

Senator McCarthy. Any place, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary Stevens. No, sir; I do not.

Senator McCarthy. You don't recall that we ever discussed this? Secretary Stevens. I don't recall it and I am certain that I would think a long time before I would say that a member of the Department of the Army would not answer a subpena. That is a very serious matter, and I would think they would have to answer it.

Senator McCarthy. Mr. Secretary, don't you think that I, having been chairman of the committee, regardless of whether you liked or disliked the way I was acting as a chairman, if you felt that we had no power to subpens members of this old screening board, that then you should have called me and told me the grounds for that and we

could have discussed it?

Secretary Stevens. The matter was taken up with the Attorney General, Senator McCarthy. That is the place it seems to me that the question belongs.

Senator McCarthy. Did the Attorney General advise you to forbid

members of the screening or Loyalty Board from appearing?

Secretary Stevens. I don't know. I was not here then. That is while I was away.

Senator McCarthy. Have you found out since? Secretary Stevens. Have I found out since?

Senator McCarthy. Yes.
Secretary Stevens. No; I don't have any first-hand information on that. I think maybe Mr. Adams will when he testifies.

Senator McCarthy. Could you find out for us?

Secretary Stevens. Surely. I would be glad to. Senator McCarthy. Would you search your files and let us know?

Secretary Stevens. Yes, sir.

Senator McCarthy. I believe it has been stated here that at the time you were contacting the Republican members of the committee, the Democrats were not on the committee at that time. Despite the fact that they were not on the committee, did Mr. Adams contact the Democrat members and discuss the Cohn matter with them and the Schine matter with them?

Secretary Stevens. You will have to ask Mr. Adams who he con-

tacted. I know he saw some members of the committee.

Senator McCarthy. Did he tell you that he had contacted the Democrats who were not on the committee at that time, in an effort

Secretary Stevens. He told me, Senator, that he had contacted some members of this committee but I don't remember who.

Senator McCarthy. Did he tell you, Mr. Secretary?

Secretary Stevens. I can tell you what I did in the way of contact. Senator McCarthy. No; I want to know now what Mr. Adams told

Secretary Stevens. I think Mr. Adams will have to testify on that. Senator McCarthy. No; what he told you; not what he did. He is

your subordinate and I assume he reports to you.

Secretary Stevens. That is right.

Senator McCarthy. The question is did he tell you that while he was trying to keep me from issuing subpenas to the screening board, while he was doing that, he also contacted the Democrat members who had previously been on the committee but who were not on the committee at that time?

Secretary Stevens. No; he didn't tell me that.

Senator McCarthy. He didn't tell you that? He didn't talk to you about it at all?

Secretary Stevens. No.

Senator Mundr. The Senator's time has expired.

May the Chair remind the members of the committee that our meeting is at 5 o'clock in room 357. I think you know the list of invited guests.

We will recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p. m., the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 10:30 a.m., Tuesday, May 4, 1954.)

INDEX

		Page
Adams, John G	_ 612-614, 616, 618-620, 640, 641-644, 6	646-650
Testimony of	- 613, 615, 623, 629-631, 632, 636, 640, 6	321 - 634
Army (United States)	$_{-}$ 613, 615, 623, 629–631, 632, 636, 640, 6	648, 649
Army Loyalty Board		. 640
Attorney General	(649, 650
Carr, Francis P		612
Carroll Arms Hotel (Washington, D.	. C.)	649
Colin, Roy M	_ 612-615, 622, 625, 627, 630-635, 641-6	645, 650
Cohn-McCarthy side		
Communist-leadership school		- 615
Communist major		- 638
Communists	615, 638-640, 6	642,647
Democratic luncheon		. 645
Democratic members		650
Democrats		650
Department of the Army	613, 615, 623, 629-632, 636, 640, 6	648, 649
Department of Defense		. 648
Department of Justice		. 629
Directive (Presidential)	640, 644-6	346, 648 ₋
East, Sherrod		. 647
Executive order	640, 6	644, 645
Far East	639, 640, 645, 6	46, 649
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FI	31)	. 629
Federal Government		. 649
Fort Monmouth	613, 617, 621, 625-627, 629-6	34, 643
Government of the United States		. 640
Hensel, H. Struve		612
Inspector General	615, 635, 636, 638, 6	645, 646
Inspector General's report	638, 6	45, 646
Judge Advocate General's Office		. 648
Justice Department		629
Lawton, General	6	26, 643
Loyalty Board	643-6	546, 650
Loyalty Review Board		$. \qquad 645$
Martin, John		648
McCarthy, Senator Joe	612-644, 6	646-650
McCarthy subcommittee	629, 6	44, 648
Members of the Senate		644
New York City	6	30, 633
Urient		643
	615, 618, 619, 627, 631, 6	
Peress, Maj. Irving	615, 635, 636, 639, 6	45, 646
Presidential directives	640, 644-6	46, 648
Presidential Executive order	640, 6	44, 645
Presidential regulation	64	6, 648
Press release (proposed, October 20))616-618, 69	20, 624
Proposed Statement To Be Deliver	ed at Fort Monmouth, Drafted Octo-	
per 19, 1953, Original and One" (d	ocument)	617
Remington, William		642
Republican luncheon		-645
nosemberg case		642
Rosenbergs		642
Num, Miss (Rum Y. Watt)	0.40 0.40 0.40 0.00 0	619
ot. Ciair, James D	612, 613, 617, 628, 6	
Testimony of	.6	18-621

II INDEX

	Page
Secretary of the Army	611-618, 619, 626, 628-630, 632-650
Secretary of Defense	637, 644
Senate of the United States	
Signal Corps	629, 630, 647
Stevens, Robert T	619, 626, 628-630, 632-634
Testimony of	611-618, 635-650
United Nations	642
United States Army	. 613, 615, 623, 629-632, 636, 640, 648, 649
United States Attorney General	649, 650
	629
United States Government	649
	637, 644
United States Senate	
United States Signal Corps	629, 630, 647
United States War Department	
War Department	646
Washington, D. C.	629, 637
	637, 644
Zwicker, General	







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